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PREFACE

THE study of comparative jurisprudence is a branch of American anthropology which holds great promise for future development. A field which, for a variety of reasons, has for long remained but slightly tilled, there still is much of significance to be extracted from its fertile soil. In this day, when questions as to the nature and function of governmental and legal institutions are of plaguing importance, anything that anthropology can offer in the way of factual enlightenment should be of value. This study of Comanche Law-ways is one offering to that end.

The investigation of the Comanches upon which this study rests had its inception in 1933 when the Ethnology Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology, directed by Professor Ralph Linton, put in an intensive summer's work with the Comanches of Oklahoma. I am deeply grateful to the Laboratory, which made such an invaluable experience possible. The introduction to field work under Professor Linton's guidance opened the door to an understanding of the skill and art which successful field work requires. For that, above all, but also for permission to utilize all the materials of the group which are pertinent to this monograph, I am in debt to Professor Linton. Companions in the field whose contributions are in part incorporated in this memoir were Gustav G. Carlson, J. Nixon Hadley, Claiborne Lockett and Waldo R. Wedel. To them thanks not only for the anthropology which is theirs, but also for the good fellowship of that summer. F. Gore Hoebel participated in the field work and has been with this study from start to finish. I salute her! Karl N. Llewellyn, Betts Professor of Jurisprudence, Columbia Law School, has had an incalculable influence in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Three days before departure for the Comanche field I received a simple note. "I understand you are interested in American Indian Law," it read. "So am I. Could I talk to you?" Out of that has grown a stimulating association of the sort that is one of life's rare pleasures.

Dr. Jeannette Mirsky pursued an independent field study of the Comanche in the summer of 1935. She has graciously allowed me to draw from her notes.

The results of the Comanche study encouraged us to seek further information on the development of Comanche institutions among the related Shoshones. This was done with the aid of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. They financed a field investigation of the Ft. Hall Shoshones in Idaho during the following summer. This work was undertaken by F. Gore Hoebel and myself. The purpose was to investi-

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gate the general cultural background of the Shoshones and to determine, if possible, the basic legal patterns of the Shoshones for comparative reference to those revealed by the Comanches. The comparative results and inferences may be found in Appendix A of this memoir.

With the enlisted interest of the American Council of Learned Societies resulting from the findings in Comanche and Shoshone culture, the Committee on Law History set up a project on American Indian law. In 1935 and 1936 the Committee projected a study of Cheyenne political and legal institutions which was carried out by the present author in collaboration with Karl Llewellyn. Cheyenne institutions reveal much in common with those found in Comanche society, for the economic base of both cultures is similar. Cheyenne culture is more sophisticated than Comanche; less adolescent, one might say. Comparatively, Cheyenne behavior represents a higher level of institutionalization, thus providing to a degree an extension of Comanche trends. The Cheyenne materials are being prepared for separate publication.

121 671 153 128 In studying Comanche legal institutions one must proceed by means of case histories. The Comanches underformalized their conception of their own behavior. To them legal action was merely an individual response to a threatening circumstance. It was not the playing of a role in a set legal institution. Thus the Comanches had no concept of law as an institution, or even as a set of rules. So, when the Comanche informant is asked such a question as this, "What was the rule when one man ran off with another's wife?", the answer comes in this form, "Well, I don't know about that. But I can tell you what happened when my uncle stole Horned Toad's wife." The Comanche and the case-trained American lawman proceed in like manner. What holds perforce for the Comanche should hold for the study of all primitive law. Legal behavior is *behavior* and should be treated as such. Malinowski has long since laid down the canon that behavior-in-fact is by no means in accord with the verbalized ideal to which a society may may give lip-service. The verbalized ideal is an important cultural fact when such ideal exists, but the actual conduct of a people is of more fundamental court. The verbalized ideal of the Comanche is the supremacy and free action of the individual. Case histories, when piled up, show that there were limiting legal mechanisms at work, however. The liberal use of case histories in the text is not for the purpose of providing interesting anecdote. The histories hold within themselves the juice of life-situations, revealing the sway and counter-play of emotion and motive, demonstrating the broad range of variability in conduct in given situations. Case histories give the native's coloring to the report, transmitting to the reader the impondorables of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given.

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imponderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given. ooo

It was the goal of the Laboratory group to cover all phases of Comanche culture in its investigations. That that goal was not encompassed must be expected. Limits of time and circumstance produce inevitable shortcomings. For the first portion of the field session, the seven members of the group worked as a single unit in obtaining orientation in the culture and field technique. Later we spread to work with different informants, each investigator focussing his efforts on a particular phase of the culture. Regular exchange of material and discussion of results kept the work correlated. Such unified effort by a number of workers overcomes to a large degree the hampering limitations imposed by time and, as a result, did bring us closer to our goal.

The method of inquiry was to put pump-priming questions to the informant, who was encouraged to expound to the limit of his knowledge on all subjects where it appeared that he had knowledge to impart. Questions which would evoke a categorical answer were avoided so far as possible. When it came to seeking materials on "law," the questions which I put were designed for the most part to probe into dispute situations, since most law is concerned with definition of conflict of interests. Due to the paucity of published information on the Comanches, preconceptions of what to expect were ruled out. For purposes of classification and analysis a working hypothesis as to what is to be meant by "law" was worked out after the field study had been finished. The formulation of that hypothesis is included in this memoir so that it may be exposed to full criticism.

The data used in this work are of course all secondary. Comanche culture as here recorded has been defunct for fifty years and more. That a certain amount of error exists in data recorded so long after the fact is inevitable. In mitigation, however, it must be remembered that the illiterate Indian keeps a better vocal record than we are accustomed to do. The effort was made to check all cases against each other through independent informants. When contradictions appeared the cases were checked still further until a least common denominator seemed found. Most of the cases presented in the text are presented as given by the interpreter. We did our best to train interpreters to translate literally. Those cases given in quotes are presented as recorded (except for slight literary editing), while those cases given without benefit of quotes are paraphrased to obtain condensation.

The cooperation of the old Comanches who were approached for aid in making this study of their aboriginal culture was most gratifying. With a marked historical sense and a nostalgic pride in their old way of life, they

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ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR GOVERNMENTAL ROLE

MILITARY SOCIETIES

Professor Lowie in seeking for germinal sources of the state other than the kinship factor has given a new importance to the study of associations. The warriors of many Plains tribes were organized into a series of fighting *Verbindungen* variously identified as clubs, associations, societies and bands. In Professor Lowie's book, *The Origin of the State*, it is demonstrated for several peoples how associations of various types may take on governmental functions and powers, thus giving form to the state idea. He has made it impossible for the modern student of the primitive state or pre-state to overlook associations, whether as governmental agencies or pressure groups.

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Two paragraphs sum up Lowie's exposition.

> With amazing uniformity as to detail the police functions just described have been recorded for a dozen and more tribes and for a period of two hundred years. Personnel of the constabulary varies with the tribe; the duties may be linked with a particular society (Mandan, Hidatsa), or be assumed by various military societies in turn (Crow), or fall to the lot of distinguished men without reference to associational affiliations (Kansas). But everywhere the basic idea is that during the hunt a group is vested with the power forcibly to prevent premature attacks on the herd and to punish offenders by corporal punishment, by confiscation of the game illegally secured, by destruction of their property generally, and in extreme cases by killing them.[1]
>
> In other words, for the brief period of the hunt the unchallenged supremacy of the police unified the entire population and created a state "towering immeasurably above single individuals," but which disappeared again as rapidly as it had come into being.[2]

In a recent article (1936) appearing in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST I raised the question of the probability of more permanent state-like activities accruing from the power of associations as discussed by Professor Lowie.[3] There I showed from case histories taken from the Cheyennes that for that tribe, at least, the military societies had become an ever-ready arm of the state functioning on many occasions aside from the exigencies of the buffalo hunt. Where the Cheyenne go beyond the practices described by

[1] R. H. Lowie, *The Origin of the State* (New York, 1927), p. 103.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 104.

[3] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, 1936), pp. 433–438. Additional Cheyenne data acquired on a subsequent field trip provide an even more effective demonstration of this point. They will appear in the author's forthcoming discussion of Cheyenne Law-ways. Llewellyn and Hoebel, *Law-ways and the Cheyenne Indians* (in press).

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Lowie, the Comanches fall far short of them. The Comanches were unlike other tribes of the plains in that they possessed only the slightest trace of organized military fraternities.

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Twenty-five years ago, Professor Lowie recorded the presence of warrior societies among the Comanches. From one informant he learned that the fighters were organized into companies in time of war, their groups being known as the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse. How they functioned is not noted. Lowie also recorded that certain dances were linked to specific bands, stating that the Crow dance was exclusive to the Yɛp Eaters, the Horse Dance to Those Who Turn Back, and Swift Fox Dance to Those Who Turn Back and the Swift Stingers.[4] But whether the men who performed these dances were formed into "regiments" or military associations as were the Arapaho dancers,[5] Lowie's material fails to make clear. Because of the contiguous distribution of such dances linked with definite orders in the Plains tribes to the north of the Comanche, it is possible that they were so organized.

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A recently published Spanish document from the eighteenth century presents a diagrammatic sketch of a Comanche contingent allied to a Spanish expeditionary force. The tally strokes representing the individual Comanche warriors are grouped into five separate units. Before each group of tallies stands the pictographic representation of a man, beside whom is an inverted spear with a crooked butt. This tally sheet is an official record of the Comanches who engaged in the Spanish expedition against the Apaches in the year 1788. A. B. Thomas, who reported and translated this document in the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST,[6] suggests the possibility that the segmentation of the Comanches in the tally is in accordance with the dance societies which possibly existed in the tribe at the time. The third enclosure (*noticia*), which is embodied in the Spanish report, is a list of the Comanche chiefs and the number of lodges joined to each chief. The Spanish list of the five groups and the chiefs who headed them identifies the chiefs by bands. These bands are given as *Cuchanec*, or *Cuchantica:* Buffalo-eaters (cf. no. 8, p. 13, *Ku'tsueka*); *Yupe, Yupinis* and *Gente de Palo:* Timber People (cf. no. 4, p. 13, *Ho-is*); *Yamparica* (cf. no. 3, p. 13, *Ya'pain*). These are three of the great Comanche bands—the very three which, according to modern Comanche tradition, led in the southward migration. The band membership of the

[4] R. H. Lowie, *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. II, 1916), pp. 809–811.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin No. 18, Part 2, 1904), pp. 151–229.

[6] A. B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document* pp. 289–298.

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IS THERE LAW? AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL HYPOTHESIS

We are now ready to address that most vital problem related to social conduct: What are the techniques for adjudicating grievances and conflicts of interests? The practical absence of a recognized authority makes the machinery relied upon by the Comanches just that much more significant for the student of jurisprudence and social control. Here we are confronted with legal patterns which are more than mere custom, with norms as to which there is no binding force of hypertrophied reciprocal obligations as in Melanesia, norms which exist without the sustaining force of courts, or police, or other expression of state sovereignty. Since sibs were lacking and associations nearly so, there were no permanent organizations which functioned as equivalents of what we know as government.

No prevailing concept of the nature of law as given in current definitions will fit the facts as we find them in Comanche society. The ideology of orthodox political science and jurisprudence, expressed in terms of "commands of the sovereign," "rules of the state," "an obligation imposed by the law-maker" have no meaning here, nor in the data pertaining to most primitive societies. Not even so sociologically oriented a definition of the law as that advanced by the late Justice Cardozo serves to fit the needs of an anthropological approach to jurisprudence. For when he writes that a principle or rule of law is "a principle or rule of conduct so established as to justify a prediction with reasonable certainty that it will be enforced by the courts if its authority is challenged,"[1] we must conclude: "no courts; no laws."

Professor Malinowski's "anthropological definition of law," to wit, "civil law, the primitive law governing all the phases of tribal life, consists of a body of binding obligations, regarded as a right by one party and acknowledged as a duty by the other, and kept in force by a specific mechanism of reciprocity and publicity inherent in the structure of their society," is really so meaningless from a legal point of view as to be useless in the development of a comparative jurisprudence.[2]

In Comanche society reciprocity is not developed to an exaggerated

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[1] Benjamin Cardozo, *The Growth of the Law* (New York, 1924), p. 52. Compare also MacIver's "Law is the body of rules which are recognized, interpreted and applied to particular situations by the courts of the state." R. I. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (New York, 1932), p. 272.

[2] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926), p. 58. For the debunking of Malinowski's *Crime and Custom* see William Seagle, *Primitive Law and Professor Malinowski* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 275–290.

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671 121 degree, so that Malinowski's approach is even less applicable here than it might be elsewhere.

Without courts and without strongly developed obligations of reciprocity to serve as criteria of law, what then is there in Comanche practice that can be identified with what can reasonably be considered "law"? Professor Radcliffe-Brown and Professor Malinowski are at one in agreeing that rules of law are distinguishable from rules of custom as such. The point of distinction is their point of departure. The road taken by Radcliffe-Brown is the road which points us on the way to our working hypothesis. Brown's essential point is that customs (of various types) and laws are both social norms, distinguishable not on the basis of content, but in accordance with the type of sanction which is attached to the norm. However, the tripartate categories (with their subdivisions) of social sanctions developed by Radcliffe-Brown did not prove to be useful in this study.[3]

121 The identification of the legal sanction is the moot problem in the discovery of a working hypothesis for law in society. Interestingly enough, it is in a one-time conceptualization of law formulated by Professor Malinowski that the idea to be developed in this study was found. The hypothesis arrived at by the present author is a development and refinement of a principle since discarded (or forgotten?) by him. In Malinowski's first work he wrote, "A given social norm or rule is legal if it is enforced by a direct, organized, and definite social sanction."[4] This was in 1912. "Direct," "organized," and "definite" do not definitely clarify the nature of the sanctions Malinowski had in mind, but the attributes of the legal sanctions are indicated in these words.

Customs do have sanctions of different kind and degree, and since what we know as law consists in some perceptible external pressure restraining men or coercing them to conform to certain prescribed standards of conduct, then if such coercive sanctions exist in primitive societies, we are confronted

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[3] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Social Sanctions* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 13, 1935), pp. 531–534. Also *Primitive Law* (Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 10, 1935), pp. 202–206. The author is also directly indebted to Dr. Brown for stimulating his thinking on the role of sanctions with a lucid discussion of his (Radcliffe-Brown's) concepts in personal conversation in the summer of 1932.

The limitations of the categorical approach of Professor Radcliffe-Brown are clearly shown when it is applied to a specific problem as has been done by Dr. John H. Provinse in his study of *The Underlying Sanctions of Plains Indian Culture* (*Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed., Fred Eggan, Chicago, 1937), pp. 341–374.

[4] Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Family Life of the Australian Aborigines* (London, 1912), p. 115.

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by legal phenomena. As MacIver writes on the use of force in the social situation, 121

> Wherever men act, or refrain from acting, in a manner different from that which they themselves have chosen or would choose in a given situation, because others deliberately limit the range of their choice either directly, through present control over it, or indirectly, through the threat of consequences, they may be said to be under coercion.[5]

Of the many forms of coercion possible, the exercise of physical force to control or prevent action is the absolute form of compulsion. As far as we have gone in examination of primitive and modern data, it would seem that the characteristic feature of law, as distinct from mere force, is the recognized privilege of a person or social group (either the society as a whole or any of the units which form its parts) to apply the absolute form of coercion to a transgressor when conduct deemed improper may occur. On this basis the following tentative definition of law has been formulated for use in comparative jurisprudence: *A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is met by the application, in threat or in fact, of the absolute coercive force by a social unit possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting.*

The term "social unit" means, of course, any individual, sub-group, or the society in its entirety. The sub-group may be a group of kinsmen, or friends, or any association within the society. "Socially recognized privilege" means that the action taken is generally looked upon as justifiable and acceptable by the majority of persons in the society concerned. Acceptance by the majority is by no means a clear cut picture in many situations. Law is a thing of growth and conflict. The substance of an old rule may be under challenge. The formulation of a new rule may be meeting with stiff resistance. A point of friction may have existed in a society for generations without an effective legal solution having been attained. Feud is a case in point. A murder done may be punished by death at the hands of the murdered man's kin in accordance with prevailing custom. But the privilege of a revenge killing is not recognized (again in accordance with custom) by the kin of the murderer. They strike back, and the siphoning of blood is on.

"In threat, or in fact"; this, because compensatory and restitutive damages, as well as punitive fines (confiscation of property) are ofttimes substituted for coercive force. But the defaulter in damages and fines finds that force has been merely veiled.

It may be observed that under this hypothesis, the action of a parent in "tanning" his child for misconduct, when not objected to by others in the

[5] R. I. MacIver, *Society*, p. 35.

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121 society, is a legal sanction. The same would apply to similar actions of any group within the society toward members of the group, even when the sanction is applied for the violation of rules which are peculiar to the particular class of persons belonging to the punishing group.

121 The Comanche materials which are to follow serve to demonstrate (as one example) that in primitive society the application of law is not limited 671 to the "political state," whatever that may be, nor even to government. When this fact is realized it will also be seen that "law" in our own society is somewhat more than has ordinarily been allowed. "Primitive law" is the henchman of Legal Realism.[6]

[6] See, Roscoe Pound, *The Call for a Realistic Jurisprudence* (Harvard Law Review, vol. 44, 1930), pp. 697–711. And, K. N. Llewellyn, *A Realistic Jurisprudence—The Next Step* (Columbia Law Review, vol. 30, 1930), pp. 431–461.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CRIMINAL OFFENSES

EXCESSIVE SORCERY

Much confusion in the study of simpler societies results from our common habit of identifying criminal law with so-called penal law. Primitive law cannot be fruitfully considered according to the type of punishment. Criminal law is the law of crimes, i.e., *public* wrongs or delicts; civil law the law of "private" wrongs or delicts: torts and breaches of faith. 121

A crime may in this sense be distinguished from a wrong so far as the consensus in the society does or does not show a feeling that the act in question is a harm to society *per se* rather than merely to an individual or particular sub-group. Thus violation of a norm becomes a crime when the sanction of force attached to it is applied by society or its recognized agents, the primary motive behind the sanction springing from a positive sense of general social injury or affront. But the sanctions involved may be no different from those observed to operate in the case of private wrongs. The line between crime and wrong is not a sharp one; commonly, any offense is part one, part the other. When there is no statutory or other explicit means determining where the responsibility for action shall rest, it is occasionally difficult to differentiate crime from wrong in any way; indeed, there may be no differentiation.

Sorcery in Comanche society was primarily the concern of the family of the person affected. It was for them to treat with the sorcerer or to engage a medicine man to effect the cure. Sorcery as a wrong is dealt with below (see Ritual and Evidence). It is also clearly established that sorcery engendered social consequences causing the entire society to react. Because sorcerers were persons with whom social intercourse was dangerous, to be known as a sorcerer meant that normal social relations were to some degree withdrawn. To be known as a bad sorcerer meant that a person was usually shunned to the point of ostracism. The evidence indicates that this ostracism was positive enough to cause the evil medicine man to live apart from people, taking his position a little way off from the camp as a social pariah.[1] From this it is fairly clear that general social sanctions were asserted along with the particular magical and social sanctions which were first applied in a case of sorcery. Public opinion—that sustained public disapproval of any act or series of acts in which we find the germ of criminal law—was always hostile to the sorcerer. After a long-time accumulation of public 754 626

[1] That the sorcerer was specifically ostracized was affirmed in a generalized statement by That's It. The fact will be noted in application in the case given by Slope on page 79, and again in the quotation from Eagle Tail Feather contained on page 81.

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RITUAL AND EVIDENCE

LEGAL CONSEQUENCES OF SORCERY

The occurrence of supernatural sanctions may be legally irrelevant, for sin need not be illegal. But sometimes an act may be both sinful and illegal and the invocation of a supernatural sanction is one way of dealing with a grievance. When the sanction depends on invocation by the aggrieved or by an official, we have one form of resort to law—though it be also, or even exclusively, religious law.

There is a notion current among social scientists that religious tabu precedes legal strictures in the hypothetical time sequence of social development. Law emerges from religion, they say. This is one of those over-generalizations which trap seekers of sequences. Because in our own social history and that of Greece and Rome we can note an early precedence of religion as a source of some law, or because in some primitive societies tabu and supernatural injunction dominate human conduct, does not mean that such circumstances are characteristic of human society in general.[1]

Yet this erroneous notion is commonly accepted as self-evident fact. Harry Elmer Barnes' restatement of Franz Oppenheimer's thesis may be noted as an example. "Primitive punishment is inflicted either to remove the stain of impurity from society or to prevent a supernatural being from taking revenge on the tribe."[2] This is partly true of the punishment of murder among the Cheyennes. It would also be true for the punishment of incest among most natives of Australia. It holds only in very minor part for the Comanches. In none of the incest cases will the reader find a trace of fear of the supernatural expressed. Though religion penetrates the legal complex, law in this society does not reinforce religious beliefs.

Like all Indians, the Comanches were essentially religious. Their religion shows affiliations with characteristic forms of the Plains and in some respects with the Shoshonean peoples of the Great Basin.

It was an exceedingly simple, highly vital religion. The concept of the guardian spirit[3] was its heart and core. Success and excellence in any action

[1] Mr. A. S. Diamond (*Primitive Law*, London, 1936), has recently attempted to demonstrate the lack of validity of the "law from religion" doctrine by an historical examination of the development of the early legal codes of Asia Minor and Europe in particular. The codes, however, are the terminus, not the beginning of primitive law, a fact which makes his argument spurious as far as legal beginnings may be concerned.

[2] H. E. Barnes, *The Story of Punishment* (New York, 1924), p. 3.

[3] For the cultural significance and generalized nature of the complex see Ruth Benedict, *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 29, 1924), p. 29.

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Here, as in the Trobriands, we find suicide "a means of preventing people from extreme and unusual types of behavior."[1] 762

[1] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 98.

Professor Malinowski emphasizes another aspect of the situation which Professor Karl Llewellyn feels is not justified by the Melanesian data thus far at hand. The whole of the quotation cited above reads, "Thus suicide, like sorcery, is a means of keeping the natives to a strict observance of the law, or means of preventing people from extreme and unusual types of behavior." Llewellyn observes that the Trobriand data show not that suicide is a method of enforcing the *law*, but more likely that it is a method of protest *against* a too strict insistence upon the letter of the law—even as in Comanche society. But Malinowski's point holds for many cultures. Compare "fasting on a man" in ancient Ireland, revived in the modern hunger-strike. Devotion-suicide (as of the widow in ancient India) may merge into one institution with shame-suicide (as in old Japan), and in both phases run free either of protest or of effort at enforcement of rights or vengeance for wrongs. In our own civilization threatened suicide is sometimes met as pressure in love-matters; but the claims sought to be enforced are rarely "legal," even in the sense of primitive law. On the contrary, the pressure may be in every sense an illegal aggression. The act itself is almost without cultural meaning; only its context gives it color. 121

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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114 *Barrier to South Plains Settlement.* His work, however, makes no serious attempt to describe and analyze their society and culture or to tell their whole story.

Anthropologists have written a few limited and specialized accounts of several aspects of the Comanche way of life, but no more than the historian have they attempted to round out the picture.

121 The writing of this book was undertaken to present in a single piece the salient facts of Comanche history and culture in a way that will satisfy the interests and curiosity of the general reader and also the anthropologist and the historian. This means that although we have endeavored to hold fast to the highest canons of historical and scientific accuracy, we definitely have not undertaken to write an ethnographic monograph. We have striven to give meaning to the story of the Comanches, but we have avoided inclusion of the kind of technical discussion that interests only the professional social scientist. Such considerations are best left for presentation in the professional journals.

114 Our sources, as will become evident in the reading of this book, exist in direct field work among the Comanches on the part of both authors, in published and unpublished data recorded by other scientific investigators, and in published and unpublished historical documents.

Ernest Wallace did most of the archival research and in the summer of 1945 interviewed a number of Comanches. E. Adamson Hoebel did field work among the Comanches as a member of The Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology party in 1933. Professor Ralph Linton of Yale University, as director of the Santa Fé Laboratory project, has given us generous permission to draw on all the field notes of this expedition. They contain much information on the Comanches that has been hitherto unpublished. Professor Linton's keen insight in Comanche culture has furnished us with many valuable leads that have made our work much easier and greatly enhanced its significance.

Although in earlier days the Comanches were thought to be recalcitrant and unfriendly to whites, we have enjoyed nothing but happy relations with them. They are good friends and co-operative collaborators. They evinced a strong sense of the historical values of [186] our studies. It was their urgent desire that the record of their story

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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114 The specimens which were collected have been deposited in the Ethnobotanical Laboratory of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (catalog numbers 14398–14450).

Mr. Carlson is responsible for the field notes, native terms, and phonetics. Dr. Waldo R. Wedel coöperated with him in the collection of the field data. The identification of the plants, documentation, and comparative data are primarily by Mr. Jones. Some assistance in identifications was received from Dr. J. H. Ehlers and Mr. Alfred F. Whiting.

824 121 177 Profitable investigations of aboriginal uses of plants are practically impossible among many Indian tribes because of their removal to reservations away from their native habitats or because of long contact with the white man and almost complete assimilation of his culture. This is not true of the Comanche, for although probably originally a northern Plains tribe they are now located in the same general region in which they were found by the first white explorers in the area (19, pp. 59–60), and, although they have been in fairly close contact with the white man for over a hundred years, their conversion to "civilization" has not been of such completeness or of such long standing that all their recollections of old times have been lost. The average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe.

824 121 This Comanche knowledge of useful plants and the fact that our list, although not extensive, could be compiled in a very short time would seem to argue against the prevalent opinion that the typical Plains tribes depended but little on them. While we are quite willing to concede that the Comanche were primarily hunters and that they relied largely on game for food, clothing, and the satisfaction of other wants, our data seem to indicate that this side of their life may have been overemphasized and their dependence on plants neglected. We feel that with additional field work the present list of Comanche economic flora could be readily amplified, and, further, that the ethnobotanical approach would be a profitable one among various other Plains tribes. Gilmore's monograph on the uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri River region (7) demonstrates the great importance of plants in the lives of these sedentary agricultural tribes of the prairies.

114 Such data as exist concerning the ethnobotany of the tribes of

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
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THE CULTURE OF THE COMANCHE INDIANS

RUPERT RICHARDSON

121 The purpose of this paper is to describe the manners, customs, social and political institutions, and the state of mental development of the Comanche Indians, together with some notice of their implements, weapons, camp sites, and means of subsistence. Because of the nature of the information available it has been necessary to place the emphasis on the more intangible matters rather than on artifacts and other concrete remains which might interest the members of this society more. Indeed, the writer fears that what he brings will be of little value to a society created primarily for the purpose of gathering, classifying and studying the bones, utensils, and implements of the aborigines of this section and less concerned with Indian relations and the thought, habits and customs of the races that preceded us.

131 The Comanches are not aborigines of this immediate section. In fact, they had for some time been in contact with the French on the east and southeast and the Spanish on the west and southwest before they began to frequent any part of Texas. However, for a century and a half they did claim as their home a great part of that region which we designate with the indefinite term West Texas; and the tribal name will forever be linked with the border tragedy, history and romance of this region.

000 Although the purpose of this paper is not to deal with Indian relations, some notice of the general Indian situation in West Texas during the Spanish period may well serve as an introduction to a more specific study of the Comanches. When Coronado came, in 1541, he probably found Apache bands in this region.[1] As he moved into Kansas he met with tribes of the great Caddoan family, and the people of Quivira, that city of gold that turned to clay and grass when he at last found it, are identifiable with the Wichitas who belonged to that family. Although the great "conqueror" did not visit eastern and central Texas, it is reasonably certain that many Caddoan bands lived there also. After Coronado, various

1. F. W. Hodge, **Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30 (Washington, 1907), 1-63.**

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COMANCHE KIN BEHAVIOR[1]

By THOMAS GLADWIN

/21 ANY system of kinship consists of a number of more or less rigid, culturally determined patterns of attitude and behavior toward certain categories of individuals in one's community or tribe; these patterns are symbolized on a verbal level. Each of these individuals is tagged with a term of relationship which determines, to some extent at least, how one should feel and act toward this person. These terms form but a part of the fairly large terminology of status with which a member of a group is equipped for his guidance in dealing with his fellows; but they fall into readily apprehended and well-integrated systems, found in various forms among all peoples, and have thus received what is perhaps an undue share of attention.

However, in spite of the fact that the relationships thus classified function primarily as symbols for patterns of behavior and attitude, the bulk of work with kinship has failed to consider the association between these symbols and their behavioral and affective concomitants. While comparative-historical reconstructions and the various sorts of analytical studies, all on a largely formal level, are unquestionably of value, it must be remembered that they present only a very partial picture; any assumptions concerning the association, except in the most general terms, of any behavior patterns with kinship terms are not justified until demonstrated.

Attempts to provide more complete studies of kinship systems have not been numerous in the North American field, though there is an increasing tendency in this direction. Some time ago, Radcliffe-Brown suggested an outline for a study of this sort:

> Kinship systems vary in different forms of social organization all over the world in respect of three characters; (1) the extent to which genealogical relationships are recognized for social purposes, (2) the way in which relatives are classified and grouped, (3) the particular customs by which the behavior of relatives, as so recognized, classified and grouped, is regulated in their dealings with each other.[2]

While one may not agree with Radcliffe-Brown in all his theoretical premises and goals,[3] this none the less provides an excellent basis for description, es-

[1] The material upon which this study is based was obtained during the field work of a group under the direction of Dr. George Herzog, sponsored by Columbia University, during the summer of 1940. The guidance and suggestions of Dr. Herzog both in the field and during the subsequent analysis of the data have been of very considerable assistance, and I take this opportunity to express my sincerest thanks to him. I am also indebted to the other members of the group for access to the material they collected relevant to my problem; it is to be hoped that the picture will soon be rounded out by the publication of their portions of the study.

[2] Radcliffe-Brown (1930), p. 43.

[3] *See* Steward (1938 b). This approach was also the subject of considerable altercation between Kroeber (1934), Radcliffe-Brown (1935), and Opler (1937). This discussion was primarily con-

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121 pecially if one accepts the implication of the necessity for comparative background contained in the first part of the quotation. This scheme is basic to a number of North American studies contained in the *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, edited by Fred Eggan,[4] and will be followed here, though without strict adherence in detail to the method of the Eggan volume.

THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

601 The list of terms which identify relatives among the Comanche are given in a separate table, the first being descriptive, and those in parentheses the forms used in direct address. With them are included the English equivalents for the closer relationships; these will be used hereafter for the sake of clarity whenever possible.[5]

COMANCHE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

có·ʔ (có·ʔ)	g.g.p.; g.g.cil.
kĭ' nuʔ (kĭ'nhʊ)	f.f., f.f.b., f.m.b., f.f.si.h., f.m.si.h.; *m.s.*: s.cil., b.s.cil., si.s.cil., w.b.s.cil., w.si.s.cil.
hu''ciʔ (hu'cɪ)	f.m., f.m.si., f.f.si., f.m.b.w., f.f.b.w.; *w.s.*: s.cil., si.s.cil., b.s.cil., h.si.s.cil., h.b.s.cil.
to'koʔ (to'ko)	m.f., m.f.b., m.m.b., m.m.si.h., m.f.si.h.; *m.s.*: d.cil., b.d.cil., si.d.cil., w.si.d.cil., w.b.d.cil.
ka'kuʔ (ka'kʊ)	m.m., m.m.si., m.f.si., m.m.b.w., m.f.b.w.; *w.s.*: d.cil., si.d.cil., b.d.cil., h.si.d.cil., h.b.d.cil.
ʔa''pĭʔ (ʔa''p(I))	f., f.b., m.si.h., m.si.h.b.
pi'aʔ (pi'a)	m., m.si., f.b.w., f.b.w.si.
ʔa'raʔ (ʔa'rhA)	m.b., f.si.h.; *m.s.*: si.cil., w.b.cil.
pa'haʔ (páhA)	f.si., m.b.w.; *w.s.*: b.cil., h.si.cil.
pa'viʔ (pávɪ)	o.b., *if older than speaker:* f.si.s., f.b.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.; *w.s.*: h.si.h.
ta'miʔ (ta'mɪ)	y.b., *if younger than speaker:* f.si.s., f.b.s., m.b.s., m.si.s.; *w.s.*: h.si.h.
pa'ciʔ (pa'cɪ)	o.si., *if older than speaker:* f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.; *m.s.*: w.b.w.
na'miʔ (na'mɪ)	y.si. *if younger than speaker:* f.b.d., f.si.d., m.b.d., m.si.d.; *m.s.*: w.b.w.

cerned with the historical and structural aspects of the problem, that is, whether similar kinship systems always implied similar social structure in comparable cultures and vice versa. As no one denies the association of *some* specific behavior with the use of kinship terms within any society, it does not appear necessary to take a position here relative to this question.

[4] Eggan (1937).

[5] Hoebel has already presented such a table. However, he does not distinguish between the descriptive and the address forms, nor does he include all the terms here listed. Therefore it seems advisable to present the complete system again. *See* Hoebel (1939), pp. 441–442.

Most abbreviations used should be obvious. A few may be amplified: cil (children), *m.s.* (man speaking), *w.s.* (woman speaking).

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0121 **1. Language may be viewed both as a part of culture and as an index to culture.** As a learned system of symbolic vocal skills language is a part of the social heritage comparable to the technique of making a parfleche, the Sun Dance, or joking with one's brother-in-law, and as such it is similarly affected by the psychological and sociological processes of culture dynamics. It follows, then, that linguistic change is an integral part of the total acculturation that occurs when cultures come into contact. These changes may range from slight to radical alterations in the form or content of a language, through the formation of various pidgin dialects or trade jargons, to the complete supersession of a language by a dominant tongue.

In its purely formal aspects, language may be considered apart from culture. It is in this sense, and because of the genetic relationship, that we say the Comanche and Shoshone speak the same language; or that the Zuni, Hopi and Keres, or the Kwakuitl, Haida and Tlingit have similar cultures yet speak different languages. But the bones of linguistic forms are covered with the flesh and blood of meaning. As a symbolic index to culture a language inevitably reflects the content of the culture it serves. Vocabulary changes go on *pari passu* with changes in the other spheres of culture: new objects and ideas, the products of acculturation, must be named if they are to be incorporated into a culture. From this point of view it seems fruitful to consider linguistic change

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[12] as part of a broader process of cultural change.[1]

The linguistic concomitants of acculturation have been treated by most linguists in their general texts and in articles under the rubrics of loanwords or borrowing.[2] For the most part their concern has been with the classical languages or those having a written tradition. Anthropological linguists have given the subject somewhat more attention in their general writings on ethnolinguistics,[3] have mentioned it in passing in specialized papers on linguistics,[4] and have contributed a number of articles on loanwords in various unwritten languages.[5] Studies of the wider aspects of linguistic acculturation have recently appeared,[6] and

[113] [1] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.237 (1948).

[113] [2] Leonard Bloomfield, Language (1933); William Graff, Language and Languages (1932); Edward Sapir, Language (1921), and Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); and E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917).

[113] [3] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24. (1948) and The Relation of Language to Culture. Anthropology Today (Chicago, 1953), pp. 554-73; Edward Sapir, Selected Writings in Language, Personality and Culture (Berkeley, 1950); Ismael Silva-Fuenzalida, Ethnolinguistics and the Study of Culture, AA 51.446-56 (1949); C. F. Voegelin and Z. S. Harris, Linguistics in Ethnology, SJA 1 no. 4 (1945), and The Scope of Linguistics, AA 49.588-600 (1947). See also Joseph H. Greenberg, Linguistics and Ethnology, SJA 4.140-47 (1948); and A. L. Kroeber, Some Relations of Linguistics and Ethnology, Lg. 17.287-91 (1941).

[113] [4] For example, Leonard Bloomfield, p. 106; Trager, p. 217; Swadesh, p. 312ff; and Whorf, p. 292, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6 (New York, 1946).

[5] See references listed in the section on Loanwords.

[113] [6] Felix Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10-7 (1951); George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74 (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941); Jean B.

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[12] Weinreich has published an excellent study of bilingualism in contact situations.[6a] However, cultural anthropologists interested in acculturation have evinced little concern with the topic. Linton makes no mention of the role of language in his writings on acculturation.[7] Herskovits' survey[8] treats the matter in a programmatic fashion and stresses the need for research on pidgin and creole dialects and other substandard forms of speech.[8a] Sapir's richly loded discussion of the significance of linguistic evidence for the student of culture history and culture contact[9] has to date been left unmined, even unassayed.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, it will examine the effects of a long career of culture contact and change on the Comanche language. Second, it will attempt to show what light this linguistic evidence throws on the nature and history of that contact. As a study in ethnolinguistics it hopes to demonstrate the value of linguistic materials as an adjunct to other forms of investigation. It thus purports to be both

[113] Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45.427-34 (1943); D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu.' Acculturation, AA 45. 435-40 (1943); Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3.130-46 (1947); Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA, 45.410-26 (1943); Zdeněk Salzmann, Contrastive Field Experiance with Language and Values of the Arapaho, IJAL 17.98-101 (1951); Paul L. Garvin, Kutenai Lexical Innovation, Word 4.120-26 (1948); and William Bright, Linguistic Innovations in Karok, IJAL 18.53-62 (1952).

[113] [6a] Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems, (New York, 1953). The book contains an extensive bibliography.

[113] [7] Ralph Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, (New York, 1940).

[113] [8] M. J. Herskovits, Acculturation, (Augustin, New York, 1938); p. 107 ff. and p. 128.

[113] [8a] Hall's work on Haitian creole has done much to remedy this deficiency. See Robert A. Hall, Jr., Haitian Creole: Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary, Memoirs AAA 74 (1953).

[113] [9] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada, 1916).

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121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10] 178 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year 175 career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year 177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4.2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

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000 COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION II*

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4. Acculturation vocabulary
4.1. Extension of old meanings
4.2. New coinages
4.3. New descriptive formatives
4.4. Circumlocutions
4.5. Loan words
4.6. Translation-borrowing

121 4. Linguistic change may occur in all the various aspects of language: phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and style. However, modifications in the highly systematic aspects, phonology and grammar, appear to progress at a slower rate, and while changes in these realms of language may be accelerated or even initiated by culture contact, they seem to result primarily from relatively autonomous linguistic drifts.[1] Stylistic changes, in so far as they are general within a speech community, may be likened to other changes in the domain of fashion. Semantic changes, on the other hand, are more directly attributable to changes in the other spheres of culture, whether due to internal or external stimuli. While cultural change is a continuing process, it is frequently accelerated by the contact of cultures through diffusion and acculturation, and the vocabulary is that aspect of language which most sensitively registers these changes. In this section we shall examine those new additions to the Comanche vocabulary stemming from culturally external sources.

Of the different forms of speech nominal forms are the most freely added, although where there has been long and intimate

* For Comanche Acculturation I see IJAL 20.140-51.

[1] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 157-182 (New York, 1921).

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[121] contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,[45] other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,[46] especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,[47] and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

121 197 192 There are four principal means by which a language may enlarge its vocabulary to accommodate new objects and ideas. These neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".[48]

[113] [45] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[46] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45: 427-434 (1943).

[113] [47] Franz Boas, The Classification of American Indian Languages, AA 22: 367-376 (1920).

[48] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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121 We may correspondingly refer to the use of
197 these techniques as SECONDARY LINGUISTIC
ACCOMMODATION.

192 A language may use predominantly one method throughout its career of change, alternate at different times in its history,[49] or utilize two or more methods simultaneously. Comanche, along with many other languages, has used all four devices, although to greatly differing degrees. The reasons for these alternative solutions are to be sought in the nature and history of the culture contacts, in what Sapir calls "the psychological attitude of the borrowing language",[50] and in cultural factors related to fashion and style. These will be discussed in more detail below following the section on the coining of new words.

4.1. The extension of the meanings of words already present in a language to cover new cultural acquisitions is a common device in all languages, and operates not only during periods of rapid cultural change, but as a normal semantic process. It is the means whereby language keeps up to date with culture; the meaning of bomb in 1954 is rather different from its meaning in 1914. While shifts in meaning may also be said to occur in new descriptive formations, it will be used here to apply only in those instances in which the meanings of words of estab-
192 lished usage are broadened. In Comanche
197 these words comprise about 30 per cent of the total acculturation vocabulary.

[49] This was the case with Pima where the first additions, due to the intense contacts with the Spanish through colonization and the missions, were Spanish loanwords. Then came an intermediate period of early reservation life, initiated by the American occupation, when most of the new words were Pima descriptive formations. And, lastly, came the modern reservation period when loanwords chiefly from English were adopted. George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

[50] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 206 ff. (New York, 1921).

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192 [197] form and have general currency in the language. Morphologically they are comparable to such expressions as cock-of-the-walk in English and can be described as "phrase-words".[10] The following examples are selected at random from among the considerable number collected.

?ekavItï/namarÏnipkahtu/tawïhtia?enA [*red one's-wound-that place-pour-on*] (*iodine, mercurochrome*).

?ohapItï?a/taka/sïkïkamatÏ [*orange's brother tastes-sour*] (*lemon*).

kesïcï·sïsa/pahiku/ta?apï?/tekwaphaná-vo·pÏ [*before-Jesus was-born God's word-written*] (*Old Testament*).

suricahtïsoko·vi/pihaya?ïkïna·/tenapïma?aiku·/wa?ihpï?a/tatáhtïki? [*that-beautiful-land where-first man-with woman took-steps*] (*Garden of Eden*)

pikÏrahávi?ena/pi?wesuru·?i? [*place-one lies swings-with-buttocks-hanging-down*] (*hammock*)

sï?ki?iha/taka/pahpa?akunácaweni?e·tï [*plum's brother long-stem-hanging*] (*cherry*)

nïmïpïknáyïkwi?ena/kahnihavinA [*Indians-where-they-mingle street*] [*3rd Street in Lawton, Okla.*)

wanakocewa?itï/pïmatatïrohtïma?enA [*soaplike with-which-one-seals-cans*] (*paraffin*)

197 192 121 The problem of accounting for the large proportion of descriptive terms in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary as, indeed, in most American Indian languages,[11] is immediately posed. Culture contact need not be as intense for new coinages or for meaning extensions, which together comprise about 95% of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, as for loanwords and translation-borrowing where some knowledge of the language as well as the products of the donor culture is required.

The formal tendencies of a language, as well as historical influences, may be a potent factor in rejecting or accepting foreign

[10] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 207 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[11] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 455 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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192 words.[82] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the
[121] absence of writing and a literary or scholarly
tradition in Comanche seems to have acted
as a further deterrent to borrowing.[83]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the
efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richard-
son refers to Comanche as the court language
of the South Plains,[84] and, indeed, it is
difficult to imagine the Comanche con-
descending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was
available as a lingua franca and was widely
used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale
changes these are mostly in vocabulary and
not in phonetic form or grammar where a
more pedestrian drift seems to characterize
linguistic changes. When contacts reach a
certain intensity and duration, and as the
social and psychological pressure of the
dominant language increases, there is a
tendency to adopt the language of the domi-
nant culture rather than to patch up the
old language to serve.[85]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[86] and they

[82] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [83] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[84] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[85] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [86] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

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[12] are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation and culture change. From the number of loanwords in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and of the contributions made by the donor culture or cultures.

Loanwords are heard by speakers of the borrowing language in terms of native phonetics, and unless there is a fair knowledge of the phonemes of the donor language, the borrowed words will be transmuted into the native phonetic pattern. It might be mentioned here that the majority of the English-speaking persons with whom the Comanche came in contact probably spoke a Southern American dialect. Thus, the r in acre was probably not regularly pronounced and the Comanche ʔekīʔ is therefore a close approximation of the American pronunciation. Where Comanche has no exactly comparable sounds, foreign phonemes are translated into their nearest Comanche equivalents. The following table lists those most frequently heard:

Spanish	Comanche	English	Comanche
b	w	b	p
č	c	-b-	-v-
l	r	f	p
r	ʔ	d	t
fr	p	g	k
rt	ht	ǰ	c
rk	ʔr	z	c
nt	r	š	s
dr	r	l	r
		r	r
		rl	r

The Spanish vowels (i, e, a, o, u) have rather close equivalents in Comanche and

[113] Slavonic, Lg 20: 66-72 (1944); Alfred Senn, Polish Influence upon Lithuanian, Lg. 14: 148-153 (1938); E. H. Sturtevant, Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language (Chicago, 1917); and George L. Trager and G. Valdes, English Loans in Colorado Spanish, American Speech 12: 34-44 (1937).

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197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ĭ, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, es-
197 pecially those of an earlier vintage and in general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.[A] Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[87] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[88] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan
197 is apparent".[89] The same general tendencies
194 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche
192 where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as **kavíʔ·ʔ** and **poʔróʔ** from Spanish, and **paisé·ʔ** and **wo·witĭn** from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[113] [87] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[88] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[89] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]
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[p. 229-A]

197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nĭ[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·pasI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtĭya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·ro·si? *cattle* (toro +

[92] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [93] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [94] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

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192 [197] "horseless carriage" or an independent invention cannot be determined. The examples of loan-translations given below are all from English: *?ahpī?[119] *Father (God)*; *ta?ahpī? *Our Father;* ?ahóhtavehnItĭ *Thanksgiving Day;* ?ohahpitĭ·?[120] *orange (fruit)*; pihi? *heart (design)*; piaho·kI *greedy, dirty, road-hog, (big pig)*; pimoró·vahmU *Bull Durham tobacco (cattle tobacco)*; pihikavïrĭ·?nári·? *sheep dog;* ta?kivihu·ra? *kidney beans;* tahani·vI *corn (on foot);* tuhtaivo·atahtokó·? *Brazil nut, nigger toe* (American slang) *black man's toe;* tacinu·pI *star (design)*; kavïrĭ·rahkoniwapI *Shepherd (The Lord)*; kuhvaikatĭ *smart, brainy* (kuhvaI *brains* + -katĭ *possessor*); kwáisiraivo·arĭhkapĭ *coconut (monkey food* possibly from American slang); kihta·hu·pI *hardwood;* kuhcutaivo·? *cowboy (cow White man)*; napa?e·kO *tongue (shoe) (shoe tongue)*; narïmi? *Master*[121] *(Jesus)*; nïmikuhcusónipĭ *buffalo grass.*

121 Folk etymology, which may be defined as the rationalization or reinterpretation even misinterpretation, of the sound or sense of a word, often in terms of an analogy with another known word, is closely related to translation-borrowing. Folk etymologies may arise internally in a language,[122] but frequently stem from the misunderstandings 192 attendant upon linguistic borrowing. The following examples were found in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary.

[119] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 286 (University of California, 1943), records the identical word in Shoshone.

[120] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ó hah neurs awĭ pá, ?ohanarsopa· *yellow sack water* for orange. He also notes a possible loan-translation not collected by the writer: sée quee kut sikwekatĭ *half got* for half-breed.

[121] This could also be considered to be an extension of the Comanche word meaning *owner* or *master* (as of slaves in the old days).

[122] For example, Welch rabbit which appears earlier in English is frequently etymologized into Welsh rarebit. And, to take an example from an

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[601] the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[103] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

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193 Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nī· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtĬ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetĬ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matĬ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matīma? ·tīmī· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nīrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nīhW *two dimes.*

● 121 Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

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[103] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItĬ, for *corn.*

[103] George Herzog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?i?á-pI *what is planted,* for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·i', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

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done the same as in alumnus, -i, -a, -æ. Comanche, however, has borrowed only one bare form of the word. Thus, ten cents is used in plural forms which would not be permissible in English. It must also be remembered that the linguistic models presented to the Comanche were from colloquial and not literary sources. The loans, "two bits" and "six bits" are straight from the vernacular. Similarly, Southern Paiute has taken the slang terms "nigger" for Negro and "taters" for potatoes into the language.[106]

Loanwords have frequently been used in creating new compounds or descriptive words in Comanche. It may be assumed in most cases that the loanwords antedate the new compounds in the language. One of several synonyms for *pig*, muvipo?ro? *nose* + *pig* (Spanish), is an example. One notes a degree of redundancy here which may, in fact, indicate that the Comanche are unmindful of the Spanish meaning and origin of po?ro?. The following is a representative list of new compounds which incorporate loanwords:

From Spanish: ?ekahcí·ra? *red pepper;* ?evihpihu·ra? *greenbeans;* ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog* (*green mule crier*); *?otihtohtíya? *ginger snaps, cookie* (*brown bread*); pehekatüpa·nĭ *rye bread* (pehE *seed* + -katĭ *possessor of* + pa·nĭ); *tosarohtiya? *crackers* (*white bread*); *ku-simu·ra? *donkey* (*grey mule*).

From English: kunawaikin[107] *train; locomotive; railroad* (*fire wagon*); ci·sisa pía *Mary* (*Jesus' mother*); *ho·karoho·vE *ham*

Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I, (New York, 1930).

[106] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, pp. 584 and 683 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[107] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives koón-ah-wah-wee-poke-o-póy, kúna-wovivuku?apú?E *fire wooden horse's road* for railroad. He also notes táw hawv, toho·vE *hindquarters* for ham.

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000 hand, has taken some 25% words and phrases from Spanish.[113] The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20–30% Spanish,[114] Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,[115] and Taos has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.[116] Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".[117] And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".[118]

#121 **4.6.** Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphorically.

192 197 It is impossible to say in many cases whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is navukuwá·? *without its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

[113] [113] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[114] Paul Radin, A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language, Lg 6: 64–85 (1930).

[115] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130–146 (1947).

[116] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144–158 (1944).

[117] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426 (1943).

[118] George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66–74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

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192 ʔotĭmu·raʔ *oatmeal*. Actually this is a loan from English, oatmeal, but the phonetically equivalent Comanche form literally means *brown mule*. The word is not in established usage; however it affords an excellent example of a folk etymology in the making.

[194] wasapéʔatĭhkapĭ *pear* (*bear's food*). As there is no p-b distinction in Comanche *pear* must have been heard as *bear* and so translated. The *food* was probably added to rationalize the word. It may be noted, however, that the Comanche names for a great many plants contain the word for *food*, tĭhkapĭ.

waʔo·rihkapĭ *catsup* (*cat food*). This word as catsup, ketchup or catchup is probably an example of a folk etymology in English and comes from an East Indian word, kitjap.

wokorihkapĭ *pineapple* (*pine food*). While this word is similar to the two above, it is perhaps more properly an example of translation-borrowing.

197 Because of their close association and the parallelism in the later history of the Kiowa and the Comanche it seems pertinent to discuss briefly here the Kiowa acculturation vocabulary.[123] The similar roles of the two tribes as culturally and politically dominated peoples is apparently reflected in their like linguistic reactions to White influences. Kiowa has used the same devices for expanding its vocabulary and has also in a great many instances duplicated Comanche acculturation terms. In fact, one suspects that a certain amount of translation-bor-

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[121] unwritten language, in Oneida lodiŋ, lagéhtˀ, literally *they carry mats on their shoulders* and which means *warriors in a band under a leader, privates or common people*, has for nearly all speakers been changed to lodiŋ, ʔlhagéhtˀ, the literal meaning of which is *they carry rust on their shoulders*. Personal communication from Floyd Lounsbury.

[123] John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, Bulletin 84, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1928), is the source of this material.

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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which
191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old people over 60 speak little or no English,
561 while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway between the old culture and the new. A few
191 Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
563 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any
[191] individual Comanche provides what is
[177] probably a fairly reliable index of his relative acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[113a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

(113) [113a] See Felika Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10–17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185–202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

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siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects of acculturation. It may be noted that in speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[139b] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma'. J pronounced jello, jero', and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[139b] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White no'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

[140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 13: 175-188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

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198 stated, is probably that the conditions
under which these forms of speech flourish
198 were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and
slave or servant, missionary and convert,
or trader and native seems necessary for the
formation of a pidgin or creolized language.
Such a relationship never held between the
Comanche and Whites for any length of
time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
191 steadily eclipsed by English which today
has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to
function as a living language. The constant
contact with Whites, the teaching of Eng-
lish in the schools and, due to the fact that
the Comanche live on scattered allotments,
the lack of an integrated community or
tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo
or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the
evanescence of the language. English is the
language of the dominant culture, the lan-
guage through which one gets on in the
world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
177 the language is far and away the most vitally
functioning part that remains of the old
Comanche culture. Other traits are gone,
empty and broken forms, or compromises
with the new. Comanche today affords
ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity
of language in the face of pressure from a
dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship
terminology,[149] represent a segment of cul-
ture where custom and language are vir-
tually inseparable, and it seems especially
appropriate in a study of linguistic ac-
culturation to describe the effects of con-
tacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for com-
parison between the old and new practices,

[149] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche
197 occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
191 these were non-existent in Comanche cul-
177 ture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are
197 almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

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197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

7.2. In the interest of conciseness the
128 numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[134] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[134]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[135]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

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[133] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153–64 (1926).

[134] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24:335–45 (1948).

[135] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

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121 language through linguistic borrowing or indirectly through modifications in the native language introduced by bilingual speakers; internally, due to extensions of meaning, additions to the vocabulary, or other linguistic adjustments which may in turn initiate a whole series of compensatory phonetic or grammatical shifts following new analogy patterns.[156]

8. Semantic changes are accomplished by extending or modifying meaning or by adding to the vocabulary.

9. Vocabulary is increased by: coining new words; incorporating loanwords; translation-borrowing.[157]

10. No knowledge of the language of an impinging culture is required for meaning extensions or new coinages and only native linguistic materials are used. This is designated PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. A minimum knowledge of a donor language is necessary for linguistic borrowing in the form of either loanwords or loan-translations. Such linguistic borrowing is termed SECONDARY ACCOMMODATION.

11. The extent to which any given language uses primary or secondary linguistic accommodation, and the several devices subsumed under these terms, in handling new cultural acquisitions depends upon both social, cultural and historical factors and upon the structural characteristics of the language.

7.3. The twenty numbered propositions which comprise the final section of this paper should be viewed as essentially hypotheses rather than conclusions. While some have face validity and others are sup-

[113] [156] Ways in which linguistic changes may be effected are discussed by Joseph H. Greenberg, Charles E. Osgood, and Sol Saporta in their section on Language Change in Psycholinguistics, Charles E. Osgood and Thomas E. Sebeok, Editors, Memoir 10 of IJAL (1954).

[113] [157] While these three devices appear to the writer to constitute the principal ways of adding to the vocabulary, they may of course be broken down into various sub-types. See, for example, Einar Haugen, The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing, Lg. 26.210-31 (1950).

121 ported by Comanche data, many require further substantiation before they can be accepted. Although the propositions are in the main derived from and illustrated by Comanche material, they are cast in generalized terms in the belief that they are relevant to other languages as well. Related propositions are grouped together, but they are not otherwise classified.

1. The total acculturation vocabulary will indicate the range of contact, the aspects of culture most affected by acculturation, and provides a sort of catalogue of traits which have been accepted by the recipient culture.

2. The presence of a single word (or several synonymous forms) in common usage in a language indicates that the trait denoted has been relatively widely accepted by the borrowing culture. Conversely, if a new trait is not so named, it presumably has not been widely accepted.

3. If an unanalyzable stem has been extended in meaning, it may be assumed that an analogue of the new trait existed in the native culture. Thus, the extension of comO which now refers to *modern beads of various materials*, and wihI to *steel knife* indicates that functionally similar objects were found in aboriginal Comanche culture. Ethnographic notes tell us that the prototypes of these new products were bone beads and the flint knife. In some instances the original referent may be obsolete or obsolescent; e.g., wosA, formerly *parfleche*, now *box, pocket, container*.

4. Conversely, if a new trait is not designated by a simple extension of meaning, one may assume that no close analogue was to be found in the native culture. Thus, the descriptive word for boat, pawovivu·kU *water board horse*, indicates the absence of watercraft in aboriginal Comanche culture. This word for boat also suggests the great importance of the horse as a means of transportation.

5. Since meaning extension depends upon the formal, functional or symbolic equation

121 192 197 121 192 197 121

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121 192 197 of the old and the new, such extensions often afford clues not only as to how new traits are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] [192] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikvic *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tseetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[118] tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·ni? *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2.**)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 192 197 10. The longer a loanword has been in a language the greater the tendency for it to acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·ra? *mule* (Span., mula) in ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 177 192 11. The linguistic source of a loanword will suggest the provenience of a new cultural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

[118] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 69, discusses this point in some detail.

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121 177 192 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and vests by the Spanish; to money and administrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by loanwords may indicate differential effects of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 192 197 16. When the analysis of what is apparently a descriptive word is obscure there is a strong likelihood that it is an older word: pïesu?ve? *bandana*, and pimoró·? *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 192 194 197 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of relatively early origin: ?eksahpana? *soldier*; in this word ?eka- *red*, has been reduced to ?ek-. In tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 192 177 18. The elements used in new descriptive formations will often indicate the approximate date or period of introduction of a new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*, ?eksahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

121 177 192 descriptive terms for introduced articles, such as the *beaver hat*, *cauldron*, or types of blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche 121 192 characteristically describe many new traits, particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is 121 181 tempted to speculate whether this may be correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey* 192 and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinï·mï (nï·mï *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu·' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20.195-205 (1954).

[p. 255-8]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

192 distaste for the food when first encountered. —or it may simply memorialise a matter-of-fact observation that boiled rice does indeed resemble maggots. The vulgar words for *cheese* (5), the word for *condom* (*rubber foreskin*), *gonorrhea* and others reflect the absence of prudery in sexual matters.

[83]

121 19. Where new vocabulary has clustered one may look for cultural interests or flairs which may either have pre-existed in the culture or have been acquired (see 7.1), but in the latter instance revealing aspects of the donor culture which have been most eagerly seized upon, most salient, or as in the case of diseases among the Comanche, indicating conditions peculiar to the time of contact.

20. The core of unanalyzable words, especially nominal stems, in a language usually denote traits that are of considerable antiquity in a culture.[11] Compounds which embody these core words would therefore necessarily refer to traits subsequently introduced. The caveat that meanings do

[11] See also Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines, pp. 54–5 (Ottawa, Canada; 1916).

[p. 256-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NC6
Oklahoma

121 825 The caveat that meanings do change must be borne in mind, but by applying this principle one observes that Comanche has a great many unanalyzable stems for animals whose range includes, or in some cases is confined to,[112] a more northerly habitat, while the names of most animals indigenous to the Southwest are analyzable compounds, e.g., ʔevikuyú·si? *road-runner* (*green quail*); puhitó·? *turkey* (*grazes in the grass*); see also the words for opossum (5). On the basis of such evidence one could postulate that the Comanche had moved into the Southwest from a more northerly location.[113]

121 174

121 The writer hopes the point has been made that an ethnolinguistic approach not only provides useful leads and insights into society and culture, but adds a new dimension to the study of acculturation as well.

[112] For example, tuhkU *moose*. Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), notes a Comanche word, augi, for *salmon*, a word that was obsolete in 1940.

[113] [113] Edward Sapir, Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho, AA 38: 224-235 (1936), brilliantly marshalls linguistic evidence which suggests an earlier northern location for the Navaho.

[p. 256-B]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Introduction

121 The name "Comanche" is a romantic one in the history of the west and has a prominent place in the literature of adventure. The present volume gives us a different and more intimate view of this people. It presents a compilation by Elliott Canonge of native tales, given directly in the Indian language and in English translation.

Two generations ago anthropologists took it for granted that they had to make use of the Indian languages in order to study Indian cultures. Everyone recorded the native terminology of handicrafts, of tribal organization, of ceremonial concepts, as a helpful key to the better understanding of the Indian way of life. In those days, under the particular inspiration of Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology, great collections of native myths and narratives were collected directly in the native languages and published with word-by-word interlinear and running translations into English. These collections include myths and legends, accounts of personal experiences and explanations in the Indians' own words of work techniques, war and ceremonial practices, supernatural beliefs, conceptions of nature and every other phase of native life. These materials have proved again and again their value in revealing both objective and subjective facets of culture in detail and with the insight possible to people who have personally experienced those folkways.

As time went on, much of the old practice of using the native language in the study of culture was lost. Sometimes we old-timers attribute this to the linguistic obtuseness or the laziness of the younger generation, but it probably has other simpler explanations. One of the principal ones is the acculturation of the Indians. In Boas' younger days, interpreters who knew a little English in addition to their native tongue, were hard to find. Today almost every Indian group has its college graduates, with even a sprinkling of anthropologists. When the anthropologist goes to the field, he has no difficulty finding Indians who speak English with ease and understanding, and who either know some anthropology or very quickly pick up the anthropologist's jargon, perfectly capable therefore of discussing totem and taboo, shamans and ritual, inheritance and mythologic "themes". Then, too, the early painstaking effort of recording and translating native texts led to a general understanding of Indian folkways among the scholars, so that now they go to the field to fill in gaps of

knowledge instead of having to unravel basic concepts. All this means that the anthropologist can now manage without using the native language if he so wishes. 121

However, something else is happening nowadays, namely that science is advancing its standards of accuracy and penetration. And this must imply a return, sooner or later, to the use of native texts and linguistic techniques. Perhaps it will be another generation or two before the full realization of this need is felt, and by that time many of the languages will be gone beyond recall. Timely, therefore, is such a work as the present collection, recorded by Elliott Canonge from Mrs. Emily Riddles of Walters, Oklahoma. A warning that this type of text collection should be done without delay is born home by the fact that Mrs. Riddles, a very old woman born around 1885, suffered a stroke in 1955, before Canonge had finished his work with her, and she was unable to continue. 126 115

Canonge has worked in the best traditions of Boas' day by recording these texts in the native tongue at the direct dictation of a person wise in the ways of her people, but the tradition itself has developed and advanced. Canonge writes Comanche in a "phonemic" alphabet, both simpler and more accurate than the recordings of the same language made 50 years ago, basing himself on the advances in linguistic science produced in this period. A "phoneme" is a fundamental unit of speech-sound in the phonetic system of a given language; always it includes a play of variations occurring under scientifically definable conditions and within a determinable range. English has such variations, and so does Comanche. The reason that the old records of Comanche look so complicated is that the variations in their language and in English do not jibe; so, in the pre-phonemic days, many imaginary or exaggeratedly interpreted variations were recorded, even though they are hardly significant in the native language, and other phonetic differences, important in Comanche, were overlooked. Canonge's record, based on the the scientific insight derived from the earnest but necessarily stumbling efforts of our predecessors in Amerindian work, gives Comanche in a form that is as simple as it is possible to make it, and which at the same time is fully accurate. The reduction to this scientific shape was not achieved without effort, but required a long and careful study, involving listening hundreds of times to individual words and to pairs of words to determine what differences were automatic and which represented a fundamental contrast in the speech of the natives. 126

194 Two with glottal stop as prior member (ʔn, ʔr) and nh; these occur in utterance medial.

3. Discussion. Analysis A presents fewer phonemes but more consonant clusters than does analysis B. Yet analysis B, while introducing nine new phonemes, making a total of twenty-three consonants instead of the fourteen afforded under analysis A, presents an interestingly symmetrical system, with oppositions totally lacking under analysis A.

Following analysis A, morpheme boundaries occur between h and a following consonant. This is the case with the form ʔuhri- *third person dual, object out of sight*, where -h- is a dual marker. Under analysis B dual 121 would be marked here by preaspiration. It has been suggested in interpreting other languages that an adequate description is one which permits morpheme boundaries which do not necessarily coincide with phoneme boundaries. An example of this is found in Oaxaca Chontal, where in some instances the third person marker consists of palatalization.[4] Nevertheless, the theoretical advantages and disadvantages remain to be argued.

194 According to analysis B, one may set up a series of morphophonemic alternations of simple with preaspirate consonants. In adjectives, a simple consonant may be replaced by its corresponding preaspirate in reduplicated forms. cf. paʔatə *long*, paʻpaʔatə *long(redup.)*. In verbs, a preaspirate consonant may be replaced by its corresponding simple consonant in certain formations. cf. t karuʔi-n ʔ *I shall eat* (stem taʻka-), təkənəniˌnəʔ *I was eating* (alternate stem təkə).

194 The phonemic system of Comanche under analysis A seems to correspond more closely 197 to the phonemic systems of the other Uto-Aztecan languages than does the system proferred under analysis B. The phonemes of 197 Proto-Uto-Aztecan apparently had no such double series of consonants as would result from the postulation of a series of preas-

[113] [4] Viola Waterhouse, Learning a Second Language First, IJAL 15.106-109 (1949).

[p. 230-B]

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that there are rhythm patterns which are arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

121 194 emphatic stress and attentative rhythm[1] (and by particles), but pitch contour is conditioned by other factors.

121 A minimum of intonational contrast has previously been reported for Oto,[4] another Indian language of Oklahoma, but languages with little or no contrastive pitch system have not generally been described. In Oto intonational contrast occurs only on exclamations. [194] Comanche however has not even that minimum of pitch contrast.

In discussing the nature of intonation, Bolinger has declared that it is 'both conventional and instinctive', that the physiological tension which is the basis of intonation can be 'trained out' (which, he feels, accounts for lexical pitch systems), and that English intonation is not an arbitrary structure because we do not 'occasionally deliberate about our choice of contours'.[5]

On the other hand, without denying the physiological basis of any part of speech or denying the close physiological association of GRADIENT differences of pitch, or of intensity of stress, this paper would lend weight to an understanding of the 'arbitrariness' of intonational SYSTEMS where they occur. 121 194 Languages range from the complicated and contrastive system structure of English intonation to the lack of any such contrastive structure in Comanche.

The data presented here will show that in Comanche length, stress, and rhythm are interconnected in their distribution and mutual conditioning, patterning together in the total phonological structure,[6] and that

[1] A distinctive rhythm pattern with meaning 'attention here' (see 2).

[113] [4] Kenneth L. Pike, The Intonation of American English, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 21.

[113] [5] Dwight E. Bolinger, Comments on Pike's American English Intonation, SIL 5.69–70 (1947).

[113] [6] For a tentative list of other Comanche Pho-

194 an adequate description of the phonology must include phonemic rhythm. The [121] prosodic features operate on two levels, the lexical level and the level of the larger phonological and rhythm group. Examples of the interdependence of these features may be seen in that non-phonemic pitch is conditioned by lexical stress and vowel length. Emphatic stress furthermore potentially coincides in point of occurrence with lexical stress. Rhythm is also generally associated with lexical stress in its placement, and phonetically long vowels may be contrasted with phonetically short vowels only within the limits of rhythm. The details of the system follow.

194 1. Comanche utterances are characterized by a marked rhythm which consists of a sequence of secondary rhythm stresses with approximately the same timing between stresses. A rhythm unit is defined as the sequence of syllables grouped together by [104] such stresses or pause. The boundaries of rhythm units are marked with a subscript tic /$_{|}$/. /$_{|}$ˈtenah$_{|}$pɨʔ$_{|}$caʔ$_{|}$ˈpɨsia$_{|}$nakI$_{|}$katɨ$_{|}$ˈpuʔ-etu /$_{|}$ˈmiʔaarɨ *The man with the big ears is walking in the road.* /$_{|}$ˈname$_{|}$wah$_{|}$sikʷI$_{|}$tɨ̄ /$_{|}$ˈpɨsia$_{|}$kahni$_{|}$nɨ̄ *eight big houses.*

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[113] [104] nemes see Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949) fn. 2. The transcription used in this paper will follow that of Formulae except for the addition of /,/ anticipation pause, /./ non-anticipation pause, /^{H}/ emphatic stress, /$_{|}$/ rhythm marker, and /$_{h}$/ attentative rhythm, all defined in this paper. Hyphen (-) will not be used here because its only significance in Formulae is for certain morphological boundaries.

[113] For other views on Comanche segmental phonemes see Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-231 (1949). The present analysis parallels generally her Analysis A in treatment of consonants, but differs from it in finding /n/ in 'utterance final' position (see text sentences 5, 8, 17, 18, 21 of this paper) in addition to her /ʔ/ and /h/ (p. 229), and in interpreting [ɨ], when non-syllabic, as non-phonemic aspiration of a preceding consonant. This interpretation results in a larger number of consonant clusters as inspection of the data will show.

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

[12] Language development poses several problems for the genetic psychologist and anthropologist as well as the linguist. Some baby words are to be found in all languages, written and unwritten,[3] though not commonly as formalized and in such abundance as in Comanche. In all these baby words two facts claim attention: the universality of reduplication, and the use of simple phonemes, especially the labials p, b, m, the stops t, d, k, g, and cardinal vowels. The use of simpler phonemes is probably explained in terms of the baby's limited ability to manipulate his speech organs, since learning to speak even one's native tongue involves the induction of an intricate set of motor habits and is a maturational process comparable to acquiring such other skills as walking or skipping. But the problem of reduplication is not so easy of solution. Jespersen has this to say, "It is simpler and more natural to refer these reduplications to the pleasure always felt in repeating the same muscular action until one is tired."[4] But this seems an oversimple explanation. A natural tendency to reduplicate may perhaps be granted and seems to be supported by the oft-made observation of the infant's babbling repetition of the same sound. This proclivity seems to have been tacitly recognized by adults and conventionalized by them in reduplicated baby words.[5]

[113] [3] The following references list baby words: Wayne Dennis, The Hopi Child, 1940, p. 35; also words from Shungopavi, Zuni, and Cochiti (personal correspondence); A. F. Chamberlain, Notes on Indian Child-Language, AA, o. s., 3.237-41 (1890), 6.321-2 (1893); Edward Sapir, Nootka Baby Words, IJAL 5.118-9; Leo J. Frachtenberg, Abnormal Types of Speech in Quileute, IJAL, 1.295-9; A. L. Kroeber, op. cit.; Otto Jespersen, Language, Book II, The Child, pp. 103-88 (1923).

[4] Jespersen, op. cit., p. 100.

[113] [5] Margaret Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea, p. 36 ff., discusses the child's speech education in Manus, and mentions the endless repetition back and forth between adult and baby of the same monosyllable. She says, "This random affection for repetitiousness makes an excellent atmosphere in which the child acquires facility in speech". p. 37.

[p. 13-B]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

[12] As the growth of speech facility parallels to a marked degree the maturation of the child's intellectual capacities, one might ask how comparative speech phenomena reflect this. Does it take longer for a primitive child who has to learn a highly complex language, such as many North American Indian languages, to gain control of his language than, say, a Chinese or American child?[6] At what age is the primitive child capable of making the subtle analogical formations[7] that many primitive languages require?

Some knowledge of children's speech development and baby words seems essential for the anthropologist or psychologist interested in problems of personality development and character structure. From the vocabulary itself one can form some idea of the child's world in a given culture; what objects [863] and affects impinge upon it. Discipline and attitudes are reflected, as in Comanche where

[6] Clyde Kluckhohn, who has made extensive observations on Navaho children, feels that the Navaho child, as compared with the English-speaking child of the same age, is somewhat retarded in acquiring equal facility with his extremely difficult language.

[113] [7] See Leonard Bloomfield, Language, pp. 275 ff. (1933), and Chapter X of Edgar H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science (1947).

[p. 14-A]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

[121] [863] feces, urine and the genitalia and feelings of disgust are equated, and where there are words used to frighten the child, admonish it, and control its movements. It seems likely that conscious speech training might be correlated with later educational procedures and attitudes towards children. This seems [858] [171] true for the Comanche where the position of children was high as was general on the Plains. It also seems important to know how long baby words are used and, if they are reverted to later in life, under what conditions.[8] The extension of kinship terms, the child's induction into their use, and the varying importance of the different relatives or classes of relatives[9] to the child are all relevant.

[8] Persistence in using baby talk was an important symptom of personality disturbance among Pilaga children where in extreme cases, those of half or full orphans, baby talk persists until the ninth year. In the most severe cases of personality disturbances a pattern of phonetic substitution is rigidly followed through and at times results in serious phonetic distortion. Jules and Zunia Henry, Speech Disturbances in Pilaga Children, Am. Jr. Orthopsychiatry, 10.362-9 [113] (1940).

[9] H. Ian Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, London, 1939: Learning-Kinship Terms, pp. 38-42, [113] has made an admirable start in this direction.

[p. 14-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

THE JARED SITE: A COMANCHE BURIAL AT FORT SILL, OKLAHOMA

by

J. Brantley Jackson

128

ABSTRACT

A late 19th century ravine burial from Southwest Oklahoma is described. The site is compared with historic and anthropological records to document a nineteenth century Comanche burial practice.

INTRODUCTION

122 In November 1969, the Institute of the Great Plains (then the Museum of the Great Plains) and the U. S. Army Museum at Fort Sill sponsored the excavation of an historic burial on the military reservation. Hallett H. Hammett, 122 Director of Research at the Institute, provided all 114 equipment and materials and contributed substantially to the excavation and interpretation of the site. Since I was in the Army at the time, I 114 represented the U. S. Army Museum at the request of the director of the Museum, Gillett Griswold. We were aided by James Marler, retired Assistant Director of the U. S. Army Museum, and by Dr. Clyde C. Snow, Chief of the Physical Anthropology Section at the Federal Aviation Administration's Civil Areomedical Institute in Oklahoma City, who examined the skeletal material and who has kindly allowed me to incorporate his findings in this report. Chris Wagner contributed the art work.

121 The burial offers an unusual opportunity for archaeological documentation of one form of mortuary practice of the Southern Plains tribes. Although numerous other forms of burials -- cave, open field, crevice -- have been documented, there has previously been no archaeological validation of ravine burials reported in 19th century literature and recent anthropological treatises. It is hoped that the addition of archaeological evidence to reported findings may help make further identification of similar practices in this area more precise.

[p. 316-A]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19
Ute NT19

PREFACE.

From the beginning it had been intended to include those Shoshonean tribes who had been more or less affected by the culture of the Plains in the present survey of the military societies of that area. Accordingly, I devoted a portion of the summer of 1912 to seeking relevant data from the Comanche, Southern Ute, and Wind River Shoshone. The Comanche were visited in the vicinity of Lawton, Oklahoma; the Southern Ute at Navaho Springs and Ignacio, Colorado; the Shoshone at Wind River, Wyoming. In 1914, a brief visit was paid to the Ute of Whiterocks, Uintah Reservation, Utah.

While the information is meager for all of the tribes concerned, I feel reasonably sure that this is largely due to the relative simplicity of Shoshonean culture and that the essential features of the Ute and Wind River dances are correctly represented. I am much less confident as regards the Comanche, who proved poor, and in part very unwilling, informants.

For the pictures of the Bear dance, as well as for innumerable courtesies during my brief stay at Navaho Springs, I feel under deep obligations to Mr. and Mrs. Charles D. Wagner.

March, 1915.

[p. 805]

[p. 806 is blank]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 C manche NOo
T xas*

and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule, [12] is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, p. 229.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche 306
Texas

[ca. 1818]

detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you.

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more particularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Arkansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain some interesting relations to our country. It would not be altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them,

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

THE COMANCHE RESERVATION IN TEXAS

By Rupert N. Richardson

000 On the Clear Fork of the Brazos, about twenty miles north of Albany, Texas, may be seen the crumbling ruins of Old Camp Cooper, a Federal outpost of the late fifties. One of the buildings has been kept in repair and even yet serves as a residence; the very building which, of course, tradition has fixed as the headquarters of Robert E. Lee when he was in command of that post. The old post is often mentioned by writers of frontier history, but 657 the reason for its location at that point is apt to be forgotten. In May, 1855, the Comanche Indian reservation was established, the agency of which was located about two and one-half miles down the river from the point where the post was located about eight months later. The observer of our own times can find nothing of the remains of this agency but a few foundation stones, some cedar posts or pickets and a depression in the ground which seems to mark the site of an old cellar. However, the Indian home established here is a matter of more than local historical interest for it represented the first efforts of the United States Government to apply the reservation system to nomadic Indians of the plains. 121 The purpose of this paper is to give a review of this experiment and to take some notice of its significance in the frontier history of this region.

657 The reservation system had recently been tried with the Indians in California and was reported to be working successfully.[1] The plan was to confine the Indians within a comparatively small area and give them every advantage possible in the way of schooling and instruction by paid agents and employees of the Government. It was expected that at first the Indian Department would be obliged to sustain them almost wholly but that after a few years they could be made largely self supporting. In adopting this policy to solve the Comanche problem in Texas the United

[113]

1. Lena Clara Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas, 1845-1860," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIX, 98.
Miss Koch's chapter, entitled "The Reservation System and Its Results," contains much information on both the Comanche and the Brazos reservations. The Brazos reservation was established for the sedentary Indians of Texas about fifty miles to the east.

25: Canonge L-5 (1948) 1957 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

VOICELESS VOWELS IN COMANCHE

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0. Introduction
1. Contrast in identical environment
2. Contrast in analogous environment
3. Pre- and/or post-syllabic vocoids
4. Rigg's interpretation B

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0. To date, several published articles on Comanche[1] have postulated phonemic voiceless vowels in syllabic position. In spite of these reports, however, the phonemic interpretation of such vocoids as voiceless vowels is still considered an improbability by some scholars. In order to allay the general doubt expressed by Jakobson, for example, in the first printing of his 'Preliminaries', as to the existence of phonemic voiceless vowels in any language, I supplied him with tapes containing such sounds. In his second printing, he added spectrograms[2] illustrative of the difference between Comanche /i/ and /I/ occurring on these tapes but in spite of the contrast therein, which can readily be seen by inspection, he retained his scepticism as to their phonemic inter-

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[1] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Linguistic Acculturation: I, IJAL 20.140 (1954); Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem and Word Formation, IJAL 15.93 (1949); Venda Rigg, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229 (1949); William A. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297 (1953).

[114]

My own analytical research on this particular feature in Comanche has continued intermittently since 1948, when the data were presented to a seminar of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[115]

Numerous informants have been used, chief of whom is Mrs. Emily Riddles, Walters, Oklahoma, whose patience has been greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to Kenneth L. Pike for numerous leads and practical suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

[113]

[2] Roman Jakobson, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, Acoustics Laboratory, MIT, Report no. 13, (1952), Second Printing, 52, Fig. 12.

[p. 63-A]

194 121 pretation: "Vowels are normally voiced. It is still questionable whether there are languages in which parallel to the consonantal opposition voiced vs. voiceless, there actually is a similar distinctive opposition of voiced and murmured vowels, as reported about a few American Indian languages, e.g. Comanche. Either the vocal murmur is not a distinctive feature and functions merely as a border mark, or it may be a concomitant of the tense-lax opposition."[1]

This article, therefore, is an attempt to supply more extensive data and argumentation on this point than previous authors have given, since to me it appears conclusive that, in Comanche, voiceless (or 'whispered') vowels in syllabic position are phonemic. The interpretation of phonetic voiceless vocoids in pre- and/or post-syllabic position will also be discussed.

194 1. The phonemic contrast of voiced and voiceless vocoids in syllabic position can be seen in their occurrence in identical environment. Here, surely, no conditioning factor is present. Note, for /e/ versus /E/, ʔu'ku?-ok^{w}ek^{w}aiʔu? *she went to render it*, (e.g. *lard*), ʔu'kuʔok^{w}Ek^{w}aiʔu? *she rendered it and went on*. In these two examples, the stress, length, pitch, rhythm, and phonological junctures are the same. The grammatical structure is also comparable: each 194 193 196 begins with the morpheme ʔu- *object, 3d per. sing.*, followed by the morpheme ku- *heat as an instrument*; following the stem in each is the morpheme -k^{w}a *movement away*, the morpheme -i *past tense*, and the morpheme -ʔu? *subject, 3d per. sing.* The stem ʔok^{w}e means *a flowing or liquification with purpose directed toward the motion indicated*

[1] idem. 26.

[p. 63-B]

194 rounded voiceless vocoid to an unrounded voiceless vocoid but with the total slur appearing to take no more time than another voiceless continuant consonant such as /s/. Thus, the illustration given here could be written phonetically in some such way as ['noOIi-], but without the implication of an additional mora of length. In this position also, there are no contrasting vocoid sequences such as *aOa, *aIa, *aUa.

Other characteristics have been observed which differentiate between phonemic voiceless vowels and phonetic voiceless vocoids interpreted as /h/. Voiceless vowel phonemes occur in open syllables only, as seen in 'kupIta? *a light*, 'pukukIni *a stable*, 'naBUsa? *a chain*, whereas /h/ occurs contiguous to a voiced syllabic, opening or closing the syllable. In general, voiceless vowels maintain a full mora of length, though there often seem to be perceptible differences of length in reference to the different voiceless vowels occurring. Thus, /I/ of 'puhakIni *a church* appears to be
194 shorter than /I/ of 'kupIta? *a light*. The
194 mora value of /h/, on the other hand, may
195 vary considerably, not in accordance with its vocoidal timbre, but under various conditions of stress, deliberation, speed of speech, style, etc. Thus, /h/ in 'wihnu *then* ranges from a sharp vocoid [I] in slow deliberate utterance to mere breathiness of almost no mora value in more rapid speech.
194 Voiceless vowels never occur in syllables preceded by pause or in stressed syllables. /h/ may occur in either, e.g. 'huuhpI *tree*.

194 4. Riggs[4] has stated a preference for her
114 Analysis B in which consonant clusters resulting from post-syllabic h plus consonant
121 are treated as unit phonemes, choosing to eliminate hc clusters at the price of nine new phonemes (or eleven phonemes, since hB and hy, not listed in her paper, also exist). To be consistent, one would also have to postulate a series of pre-glottalized con-

[4] Riggs, op. cit.

[p.67-A]

194 sonants for ?s, ?m, ?y, etc., which would
114 reduce the number of consonant clusters to
zero but would produce thirteen more new
121 phonemes. All possible combinations of ?
followed by a consonant occur except ??.

It is not economical to introduce twenty-three new phonemes into a system in order to eliminate two well-balanced types of consonant clusters, e.g. ?c and hc. In both clusters, the first element is a glottal consonant, namely a stop and a fricative.

[195] Such an analysis, furthermore, disregards the perceptible division between syllables which occurs even in rapid speech, and, in exaggerated slowdown, informants show no tendency to treat hc as a close-knit unit but, rather, introduce a sharp break between the h and the consonant following. It is by no means impossible to assume that a single phoneme can be ambi-syllabic. Numerous such instances may be found but, as between alternate analyses, that one is to be preferred which interprets phonemes as mono-syllabic, other things being equal.

The interpretation of hc as a single phoneme results in needless grammatical complication. For example, the utterance translated *just nothing* may occur with alternate nonsignificant word order, e.g. 'nah'kehenA or 'kehena'nah. Under Rigg's Analysis B, in which hk constitutes a single phoneme, the allomorph of the morpheme meaning *just* is 'nah (three segmental phonemes) in the second citation but in the first instance, the alternate is 'na plus a feature (pre-aspiration) of the following phoneme. If, on the other hand, the alternant is assumed to be 'na (without pre-aspiration) in the first example, then 'kehena *nothing* of the second utterance has an alternant ^{h}'kehenA in the first. The total distribution of 'na and ^{h}'kehenA is the strict limitation of their occurrence contiguous to each other. Considering hc as a consonant cluster, however, would eliminate all such allomorphic problems and greatly simplify the analysis of the grammatical structure.

[p.67-B]

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
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DERMATOGLYPHICS IN COMANCHE INDIANS[1]

HAROLD CUMMINS[2] AND MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN

This note reports an analysis of the palmar dermatoglyphics and finger prints in seventy-nine North American Indians (Comanches, in Oklahoma). Beginning with Wilder's pioneer contribution, 1904, there has been sufficient investigation of racial variation in dermatoglyphics to demonstrate the existence of distinctive racial trends in these features. There is not yet available, however, an adequate body of comparative data for broad discussion of racial resemblances and differences. The present report is accordingly treated simply as a record of findings in the Comanche sample, to provide the detailed data necessary for future racial comparisons. In view of this purpose, neither a review of the field nor a full bibliography is considered essential.[3] It may be pointed out that little work has been done with the dermatoglyphics of North American Indians. Downey (Types of dextrality among North American Indians, Jour. Exp. Psychol., vol. 10, 1927) records finger-print data for fifty Arapahoes. Cummins presented before the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, in March, 1932, an account of findings (palmar and plantar features) in twenty-seven Shoshonis and Arapahoes.

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made it possible to secure the data here reported. We are further indebted to the authorities of the Indian School at Lawton, Oklahoma, for their invaluable cooperation in providing access to subjects.

[2] Department of Anatomy, Tulane University.

[3] For bibliography see especially: Bonnevie, K., J. Genet., XV, 1924; Bonnevie, K., Z. indukt. Abst- & Vererbungsl., LIX, 1931; Cummins, H., Am. J. Phys. Anthrop., XV, 1930; Midlo, C., and H. Cummins, ibid., XVI, 1931.

26: Cummins & Goldstein D-5 (no date) 1932 NO6 Comanche NO6
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SUMMARY

This series, comprising seventy-nine Comanche Indians, presents the following noteworthy features in the palmar dermatoglyphics:

Line A is characterized by the abundance of very low terminations. Line C is frequently abortive or absent. Line D does not commonly extend far radialward. Hypothenar patterns are infrequent, while thenar/first interdigital patterns are abundant. Apical finger patterns present a high frequency of whorls.

Though the report is presented as a mere record of findings, without comparison with other races, it may be noted that there are suggestive likenesses to the Eskimos and to the Indians of southern Mexico and Central America.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1786)

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY COMANCHE DOCUMENT[1]

By ALFRED B. THOMAS

THE Tally Sheet, the photostatic document reproduced as plate 2, is the report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the New Mexican Spaniards against the Apache in the year 1786. Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically, it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record.

The historical background briefly is this. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards and Pueblos of New Mexico suffered from incessant Ute, Comanche, and Apache attack. In defense Spain supported one tribe against the other: early in the eighteenth century Spaniard and Apache fought Ute and Comanche, the latter just then appearing on the northern horizon of the Southwest. The turn of the half-century saw this situation reversed; the Comanche now occupying Apache lands northeast of the province forced the Spaniards to seek Comanche friendship and at the same time arrange to turn their united energies on the displaced Apache, who pillaged New Mexico from the east and south.[2]

The Tally Sheet is a direct result of an action arising, under these conditions, from a treaty with the Comanche, signed February 28, 1786, according to the fourth article of which inces-

[1] The original of this document, the Tally Sheet reproduced here, is in Audiencia de Guadalajara 103–5–6 No. 43 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville). Another copy is located in Archivo General y Publico, Provincias Internas, Tomo 65 (Mexico City). (See footnote 4.) This article presents an aspect of the writer's study of the northern and northeastern frontiers of Spanish New Mexico, 1593–1821.

[2] A. B. Thomas, Spanish Expeditions into Colorado 1540–1779. The Colorado Magazine of the Colorado State Hist. Soc., November 1924. Also, Spanish Exploration of Oklahoma 1599–1792. Chronicles of Oklahoma, June 1928.

[See facing p. 294—Analyst.]

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NQ6 Comanche NQ9
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ13

/page 38 continued/

Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [129] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has C K 198 been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [182] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 195 198 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the C K 195 197 history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NO15

/page 43 continued/

C K In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner
795 in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am
771 able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pres-
[177] sures upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of
[123] an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-
equipped to operate due to my own color.

C K Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at
121 the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in
providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result
C K has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus tradition-
121 alist do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the
665 areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once
177 important it might be profitable to do some historical work concern-
ing the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty
years.

C K /44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determin-
121 ing the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear
that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It
is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White
aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible.
But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem
from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign
to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view
which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures
but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture.
Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of
model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Foreword

About the Series

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These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students in the social sciences insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of a way of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

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David E. Jones received his B.A. in anthropology from the University of North Carolina in 1966, and his M.A. from the University of Oklahoma in 1968. At present he is completing his doctoral dissertation for the University of Oklahoma under a Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship.

The field research upon which this book is based was accomplished over [101] a three-year period beginning in 1967. During the first year of fieldwork, the author was employed by the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project, American Indian Institute, University of Oklahoma. Much of the taped and transcribed [126] interview material utilized in the compilation of this book is at present in the files of the Oral History Project at the University of Oklahoma.

Mr. Jones has published several articles on the ethnopharmacopeia of the Comanche Indians.

About the Book

As the author writes, this case study is an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, 121 Comanche medicine woman. With an abundance of firsthand accounts and on the scene observations, the author assists the reader in understanding the complex role of a Comanche Eagle doctor. Jones attempts to describe every aspect of Sanapia's role, including detailed accounts of her ritual behavior, her attitude toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society.

The study is special in that Sanapia is the last surviving Comanche Eagle

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121 doctor. Ethnographic materials and popular materials on the colorful Comanche raiders are available, but very little has been previously recorded on the institution of the Comanche traditional doctor.

123 Jones was able to obtain his excellent data as the adopted son of Sanapia. As he explains, this close association had disadvantages as well as advantages. It was assumed, for example, that as Sanapia's son, the author would automatically know many of the obvious aspects of the doctor's role. Furthermore, the role of "Young Son" carried with it a series of complex, reciprocal role relations.

128 The reader is given intimate details concerning Sanapia's training, which was lengthy and complex. After the final rituals involved in receiving the Power necessary for an Eagle doctor, Sanapia had to be passed on separately by four different instructors.

One unique chapter is devoted to the detailed preparation of herbal medicines and methods of administering them. The illnesses treated ranged from heart pain, pneumonia, and paralysis to exzema and loss of appetite.

158 [128] Since Sanapia spent a great deal of time treating "ghost-sickness," the author explains the meaning of the concept and describes the symptoms and treatment. Jones analyzes the psychogenic roots of this disease, considered by the Comanche to be peculiar to the "Indian." The author believes the malady may be viewed as a conversion reaction related to unmanageable psychic stresses.

756 153 The author attributes Sanapia's success as an Eagle doctor to the fact that she was able to adapt quickly to the changes taking place in Comanche culture. This process of adaptation was simplified for Sanapia as her own home environment had required that she adjust to three disparate religious systems—the Christianity of her father, the Peyotism of her uncle and paternal grandfather, and the Plains Indian pattern of vision quests and guardian spirit represented by her mother, the Eagle doctor.

000 Upon completing the reading of the detailed study of Sanapia's training and role behaviors, the reader feels that he knows Sanapia more intimately than do her own peers.

GEORGE *and* LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Portola Valley, Calif.

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Introduction

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC IMMORTALITY of the Comanches rests almost exclusively on the data obtained and published by the members of the 1933 Ethnological Field Study Group of the Santa Fe Labofatory of Anthropology. Several members of this group, notably Ralph Linton and E. Adamson Hoebel, have produced valuable contributions to the knowledge and understanding of Comanche culture. The institution of the Comanche traditional doctor, however, was only superficially recorded by the members of the Santa Fe group and even less satisfactorily recorded in earlier and less rigorous accounts of the Comanches. It is because of the paucity of material in this area and because of a unique set of circumstances which enabled me to achieve an unusually close rapport with the only traditional Medicine woman now functioning in Comanche society that I attempted to fill some of the aforementioned void with an intensive study of this doctor.

This study will be an ethnographic portrait of Sanapia, Comanche Medicine woman. The attempt will be made to describe every possible aspect and facet of her role as Medicine woman and to consider her social position and cultural meaning in the context of contemporary Comanche society. It is hoped that the method of presentation employed in this book will enable the reader not only to understand how a Comanche Medicine woman performs the prescribed behavior and ritual of her role, her attitudes toward her profession, the paraphernalia she employs, and her function in Comanche society but also to gain insight into the personality and character of the woman who is the last surviving Comanche eagle doctor.

Supernaturalism is often an extremely difficult area of culture for the ethnographer to approach with any degree of depth or intimacy. This situation becomes exaggerated, as in the case of the Comanches, when certain supernaturalistic institutions are considered by the members of the culture as final bulwarks of traditional values, or last vestiges of a "golden era." When these institutions are of a kind to elicit negative responses from the dominant culture in a situation of

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121 ongoing acculturation, or when they are in real or imagined conflict with similar institutions in the culture in dominance, they become even more elusive to the
123 ethnographer. For example, Sanapia's initial resistance to converse on the subject of native doctoring practices was based on her fear of ridicule and her belief that information which she gave this investigator could make her liable to arrest for practicing medicine without a license.

My first experience with other Comanche informants on the subject of Comanche native doctors was similar. Though many were fonts of knowledge on practically any subject touched upon in the preliminaries of an interview, my questions concerning even such an inoffensive subject as the existence of living native doctors were met with terse denials. It was only after establishing a socially visible rapport with Sanapia that I found the first resistance on this subject to subside. I was then able to obtain information from certain informants who had been Sanapia's patients or who at least had some comments to offer on the subject of Sanapia, native doctors, or supernaturalism in general.

755 The term "medicine," when used by Sanapia, refers specifically to material items which are a necessary part of her activities when she is involved in manipulating or directing her personal *puha*, or supernatural power. *Puha* is equivalent to the terms "Medicine" and "power." Sanapia uses the term "doctoring" to mean any kind of action by a *puhakut*, or one who possesses an extraordinary degree of supernatural power, which is concerned with the direction of Medicine at another for purposes of good or evil.

121 Because of the dearth of material on Comanche culture, I have but a minimal amount of very general information with which to compare the sometimes highly detailed data obtained from Sanapia on the intricacies of her profession. With comparative literary precedent lacking on this specific subject and in the absence of other doctors similar in kind to Sanapia, this study must be considered as a discussion of the "Medicine way" of a Comanche Medicine woman. Generalizations on certain Comanche supernaturalistic notions will be made only when a number of informants have been in acceptable accord. It should be noted that even if there existed a more complete literature on Comanche doctors, and if there existed at present Medicine women with which to compare Sanapia, generic statements on the subject would still be artificial and tenuous, given the great degree of latitude granted the individual doctor in the details of the performance of his role and the individualistic bent of Comanche personality in general (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:155; Kardiner 1945:81).

The bias of the ethnographer is always a crucial element in determining the outcome of his field research and the conclusions which he will draw from such experience. I refer to personal bias, partiality, inclination, or prejudice not specifically concerned with a field problem. Of course, it is ideally desirable that the field researcher have as little bias as possible, but he will necessarily possess a certain way of viewing given situations and individuals and, whether he desires to or not, he will judge them. Both for the ethnographer's sake and for the sake of his reader in evaluating his product, I feel that the researcher should attempt to make as explicit as possible the particular manner in which he viewed his subjects, any partiality he experienced, and the manner in which he feels he was accepted by his subjects. Especially with a book of this kind, this is

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necessary since so much of the material upon which this study was based came from a single informant. The particular relationship which I experienced with Sanapia doubtless colored the kinds of information which I obtained from her.

There was both an age and a sex difference between Sanapia and me, besides the obvious cultural differences. The rapidity with which she adopted me into her household was as cumbersome as it was helpful, for by this stroke I lost many of the advantages which formalized interviewing can lend, while gaining the advantages of confidences and a relative invisibility. She adopted me as her son and in so doing promoted an imbalance in our relationship in which she was in the position to demand more of me than I was of her. This relationship gave me the opportunity to gather much information concerning her attitudes and sentiments relating to her self-concept and her view of herself in relation to Comanche society as a whole, while it was more difficult to gather those kinds of data dealing with the more overt and obvious aspects of her role. She seemed to feel that by the simple fact of adopting me I would know all the necessary premises, and she would react irritably when I would question her on those subjects about which she felt I already knew. Also, by being classified as a "young son," *tuiβitsi*, I was expected to interact more with her sons, grandson, and nephews and to maintain a respect–distance from Sanapia.

The sex difference was not as important as the age difference since Sanapia,

Sanapia and the author.

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177 contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and
101 the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

121 To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary
[101] Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Sho-
178 shonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Snoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

133 The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be de-
137 scribed as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush
174 and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

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southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treachery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.

The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution established as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas. Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differentiation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

[121] The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the relatively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist. The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge concerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

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elaborate on this statement, only suggesting that she works to make her patient believe in her since he will not regain his health if he does not have faith in her powers. Some of Sanapia's ex-patients have noted her ability to make things appear and disappear; however, as mentioned previously, Sanapia will deny that she does sleight of hand.

Sanapia is aware that her shamanistic performance is expected by her patients and that it is a necessary element in strengthening their faith in her. However, she states that she could marshal her powers for healing without the performance, though the patient would not be highly impressed. Sanapia must move the patient to an emotional acceptance of her powers, for she feels that without the patient's confirmed faith her powers can do nothing toward curing him. Sanapia's belief that the patient's attitude toward the doctor is of significant importance in determining the outcome of the treatment is based in a sound grasp of psychotherapeutic principle, though in her case it is couched in the mystique of the faith healer.

Number of Patients per Year

How many patients does Sanapia doctor each year? This would be a difficult question to answer exactly. Sanapia does not think in these terms. Further she does not consider it "proper" to discuss the question. I would estimate, however, that she doctors approximately six cases of ghost sickness per year, and she may treat twenty patients suffering from more standard ailments during the same time. These estimates are based on clues collected during several years of interviewing and on observations of the contents of her medicine kit. I observed her medicine kit in the early fall when her medicines were almost totally depleted and watched as she collected what she felt would be a sufficient quantity of medicines to last until the next collecting season the following fall. From a knowledge of the possible combinations and quantities of dosages of these medicines, I estimated how many patients could be treated before the medicine supply would be depleted. This estimate corresponded closely with the estimates based on interview material.

What Is Ghost Sickness?

This is an important question. The key to understanding Sanapia's vital function in twentieth-century Comanche society rests with the answer. Ghost sickness may be an entirely organic or static affliction, perhaps a variety of organically motivated transient paralysis. Then again, a viewpoint suggesting the psychogenic nature of ghost sickness presented itself when Sanapia's accounts of ghost sickness victims were perused, particularly noting the age and sex of the victim. In the majority of cases, the victim was male, twenty-five to forty years of age. Also, based on interviews with ghost-sickness victims and information gathered from Comanche informants, it was discovered that these individuals were all very similar personalities.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Conclusion

Lack of Comparable Material

MANY OF THE PROBLEMS in evaluating the material presented in this book stem from the fact that there is little Comanche information with which to compare it. The information contained in Kardiner's (1945) discussion of Comanche culture is based on data supplied largely by Ralph Linton which he gathered with the Santa Fe group in 1933. Wallace and Hoebel's (1952) book is almost totally based on material obtained in 1933 by this same group. Therefore, practically all that is known of Comanche ethnography is based on the circumstances of several months in 1933. A further problem is that Sanapia, in her role as eagle doctor, is unique in contemporary Comanche society. There is no one with whom to compare her. This also means that there is no way to check the information which Sanapia supplied, except so far as it was the type which could be verified by other Comanches. Consistency in her responses to the same questions asked at various times and her desire that this study act as the "book of her Medicine way" are the only indications which can be suggested to support the high probability of her veracity in materials which could not be otherwise checked.

Inconsistencies

The inconsistencies between data presented by Sanapia and the materials presented by the authors who have written on Comanche notions of power, magic, and religion have been noted in the body of the text. Since any conclusions based on these differences would necessarily be spurious, I will not introduce them again in conclusion. It is enough to say that Sanapia's interpretation of her relation to the supernatural is consistent to her and to other Comanches. It would be futile and improper to discuss whether she is "right" or whether Wallace, Hoebel, and Kardiner are "right."

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13
Comanche NO6 ●

DYEING, SPINNING AND WEAVING, BY THE CAMANCHES, NAVAJOES, AND OTHER INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.[1]

By J. Henry Peters.

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● C 114 386 ● 121

Thomas Ewbank, Esq.,

Dear Sir: Fully appreciating the heartiness and zeal, with which you direct your researches into the various branches of inquiry and learning connected with your important bureau, I with great pleasure, but with diffidence, accede to your request, and give you such information with regard to the manufactures of wool and cotton, as I have acquired in my rambles among our western Indians; and more especially, among the Camanches, Navajoes, and Apaches of western Texas and southern New Mexico. I have not been further west than Paso del Norte, in Texas, nor further north than Sonora, in New Mexico, and the surrounding county.

It is known to every observing traveler in those parts of our country — now no longer remote — that the brilliancy and durability of the various shades of primitive colors, and the few semi-colors that those Indians dye their wool in, are probably not equalled by the learned and scientific chemists of Europe, and our own country — an important fact, that seems not to have excited the curiosity of our otherwise enquiring countrymen. Should I be able, through your instrumentality, to bring to the public notice, such facts as will lead to enquiry and investigation, I should consider myself as having contributed somewhat to our national advancement in one branch of the arts at least, and that one of the most important.

N C 233 721

The Camanche, Navajoe, and Apache Indians, present the curious spectacle of marauding bands of well mounted men; seemingly always committing predatory incursions upon their civilized neighbors, the Texans and Mexicans, apparently con-

[1] Reprinted from the *Report of the U. S. Commission of Patents*, for 1850, part 1.

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[pp 1-351 not processed]